

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 PRETOR 06123 131212Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
-----115334 131213Z /10

O 131200Z NOV 77
FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 9538
AMEMBASSY LONDON NIACT IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T PRETORIA 6123

EXDIS
HANDLE AS NODIS CHEROKEE

LONDON FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PDEV, RH
SUBJECT: RHODESIA TALKS

REF: STATE 272038

1. AS WE READDRESS THE RHODESIAN SITUATION TO DEVISE WAYS TO
IMPLEMENT THE ANGLO-AMERICAN INITIATIVE, THESE CHANGES OF CIRCUM-
STANCE STAND OUT:
--THE PRESSURES ON SMITH TO ACCEPT THE PLAN HAVE DIMINISHED SINCE
THE TRILATERAL LONDON TALKS LAST AUGUST.
--THE DISUNITY AND DISTRUST AMONG PF LEADERS IS DEEPER AND MORE
APPARENT.
--THE NATIONALIST UNITS HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO INCREASE THEIR
PRESSURE ON THE FIGHTING FRONT.
--THE THREAT OF A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA IS
NO LONGER AVAILABLE AS LEVERAGE ON THE RHODESIAN QUESTION.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 PRETOR 06123 131212Z

--FROM SEVERAL SOURCES IT WOULD APPEAR THAT THE SAG IS SHIFTING
FROM BEING A SUPPLIER OF OIL TO RHODESIA TO ONE OF ENTREPOT FOR
OIL WHICH THE SMITH REGIME MAY BE ABLE TO PURCHASE AND SHIP
THROUGH SOUTH AFRICAN PORTS.
--IN VIEW OF THE SANCTION APPLIED AGAINST
SOUTH AFRICA TO INCREASE THE SEIGE SYNDROME LAST WEEK, WHICH VORSTER
HAS DELIBERATELY USED IN THIS COUNTRY, SMITH WILL PROBABLY CONCLUDE

THAT VORSTER'S MANEUVERABILITY IN APPLYING PRESSURES ON RHODESIA WILL BE RESTRICTED IN THE SHORT TERM.

2. THE SUM OF THE FOREGOING CONSIDERATIONS IS THAT SMITH PROBABLY SEES HIS POSITION AS STRONGER THAN WHAT IT WAS THREE MONTHS AGO AND, THEREFORE, WILL BE LESS INCLINED TO ACCEPT THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS.

3. WE BELIEVE THAT THESE PROPOSALS STILL CONSTITUTE THE BEST APPROACH TO A PEACEFUL SOLUTION IN RHODESIA. IF THEY ARE TO WORK, NKOMO AND MUGABE MUST BE PRESSURED INTO GOING INTO ELECTIONS JOINTLY UNDER THE PF BANNER OR IN SUCH OTHER MANNER AS THE CIRCUMSTANCES MAY INCLINE THEM (I.E. SEPARATELY OR IN SOME COMBINATION WITH MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE).

4. SINCE MUGABE AND NKOMO AT PRESENT SEEM TO BE UNWILLING TO STAKE THEIR FUTURE ON ELECTIONS, THE FLP'S MAY FIND IT NECESSARY TO ASSERT CONTROL OVER THE NATIONALIST FORCES ALONG THE LINES THAT NEYERE IS APPARENTLY ENTERTAINING IN ORDER TO MAKE NKOMO AND MUGABE ACCEPT THE PLAN. WERE THE FLP'S TO DO THIS, IT WOULD PROBABLY PROVIDE A MORE STABLE LEADERSHIP TO THE NATIONALIST FIGHTING UNITS DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD AND DIMINISH THE POSSIBILITIES OF CIVIL WAR THEN AND LATER ON.

4. IN ORDER TO CONVINCE THE FLP TO MOVE DECISIVELY WE WILL HAVE TO COMMIT OURSELVES TO EQUALLY DECISIVE STEPS TO BRING ABOUT
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 PRETOR 06123 131212Z

SMITH'S DEPARTURE AND THE RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE PLAN. FROM THIS VANTAGE POINT OUR IMMEDIATE EFFORTS SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON DISCUSSIONS WITH NYERERE, KAUNDA AND MACHEL ON WHETHER THEY ARE WILLING AND ABLE TO PERSUADE NKOMO AND MUGABE TO ACCEPT THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE BRITISH AND WE WILL TAKE CARE OF THE SMITH SIDE OF THE EQUATION. IF THE THREE PRESIDENTS ARE NOT IN POSITION TO BRING THE PF LEADERS INTO LINE, THERE WOULD SEEM TO BE LITTLE FURTHER THAT WE OR THE BRITISH COULD DO, EVEN IN THE WAY OF SIDE DEALS, WHICH WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO BLACK AFRICA AND BRING TRANQUILITY TO THE AREA.

5. WITH RESPECT TO AN ALTERNATIVE STRATEGY FOR BRINGING SMITH TO HEEL THROUGH THE SOUTH AFRICANS, WE CAN VISUALIZE NO REAL LEVERAGE THAT WOULD IMPACT DIRECTLY AND IN RELATIVELY SHORT TIME ON SOUTH AFRICANS. RESTRICTING OF OIL SUPPLIES IS MOST LIKELY TO HAVE THIS EFFECT AND IS MOST DEFENSIBLE BECAUSE IT IS APPLIED WHERE SOUTH AFRICA'S ROLE IN FRUSTRATING UN SANCTIONS IS MOST FLAGRANT.

6. OTHER STEPS WHICH MIGHT BE EVALUATED ARE: DISCOURAGEMENT OF NEW CAPITAL AND INVESTMENT, RESTRICTIONS ON BANK CREDITS, REGUL-

ATIONS TO PREVENT FOREIGN SUBSIDIARIES IN SA FROM BEING ENLISTED
TO CIRCUMVENT THE ARMS EMBARGO, BAN ON IMPORT OF KRUGERRANDS,
ABANDONMENT OF SUPPORT FOR SA'S REMAINING MEMBERSHIPS IN
INTERNATIONAL BODIES.

7. MOST OF THESE STEPS WOULD REQUIRE COOPERATION FROM OTHER
WESTERN POWERS AND COULD HAVE WIDER RAMIFICATIONS DIFFICULT
TO JUDGE FROM HERE. THEY ARE NOT CLEARLY RELATED TO THE RHODESIA
ISSUE AND ONCE INVOKED ARE NOT AVAILABLE IN FUTURE AS POSSIBLE
REACTION TO DOMESTIC EVENTS IN SA. THEIR HARSHNESS MIGHT BE
MITIGATED IN SOME DEGREE BY INCLUDING A TIME LIMIT TIED DIRECTLY
TO SOME PHASE OF THE RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT (I.E. SMITH STEPPING
DOWN).

BOWDLER

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 PRETOR 06123 131212Z

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS, POLITICAL SITUATION, NEGOTIATIONS, CAT-A, CHEROKEE 11-13-77
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 13-Nov-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977PRETOR06123
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: EXDIS HANDLE AS NODIS CHEROKEE
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: P840083-0323
Format: TEL
From: PRETORIA
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19771165/aaaacdcz.tel
Line Count: 136
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 8485801b-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 77 STATE 272038
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 10-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 609152
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: RHODESIA TALKS
TAGS: PDEV, RH, US
To: STATE 'SS' MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/8485801b-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009